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Professor Joseph S. Ames

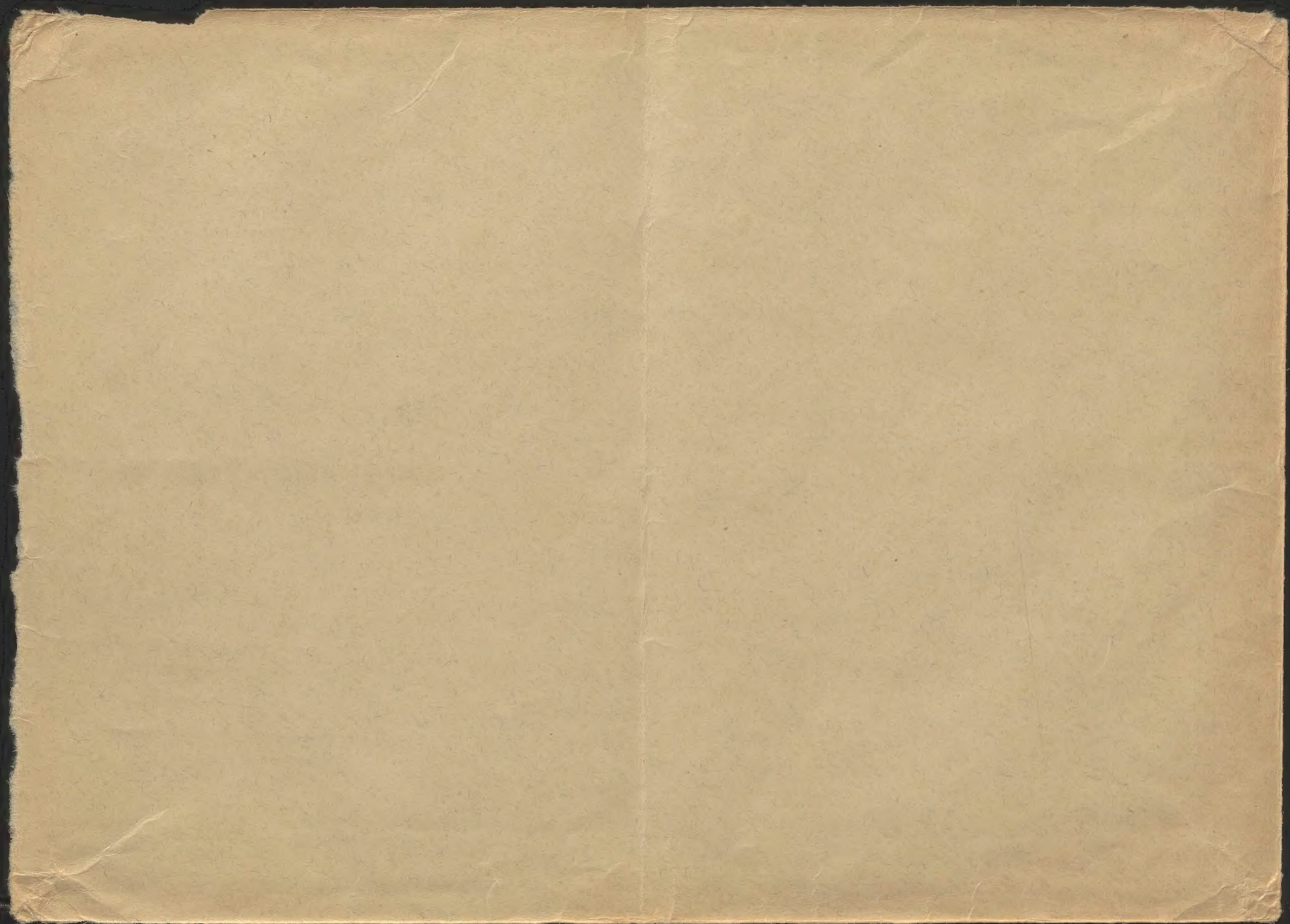
Rekopis prof. W. Smoluchowski

The struggle about an University

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The Struggle about an University.

Several times in the last months

Telegrams have ^{informed} ~~told~~ the world about ^{serious riots} ~~troubles~~ at the University of Lemberg ^(which are symptoms of a violent political struggle there going on) in Austrian Poland, ~~but scarcely any one~~ (Non-Austrians will scarcely understand anything of the matter, and even Austrians - at least those who so often and so ~~unjustly~~ ^{considered as} ~~are supposed to be~~ the representatives of Austria, the Viennese - ^{though they} ~~may~~ ^{as they have seen such like affairs} understand it, ~~possibly~~ ~~but~~ will judge it wrongly and unjustly. It requires an intimate knowledge of local politics and a remarkable impartiality to get a ~~clear~~ ^{clear} insight into ~~For the Viennese~~ ~~and the entire world through them~~ ~~get their information from the Vienna press which can~~ ^{political} this problem and to judge it rightly. ^(The whole affair) ^{is first and} ^{to be} ^{question} ^(I think still) ~~this~~ may seem a ~~thing~~ of purely local ~~interest~~ importance but it reveals so characteristic features of Austrian policy and of the nationalistic agitation ^{in eastern Europe} ~~movements~~ in Poland that it ^{(may interest foreign readers as a symptom} ^{too} of ^{far spread} ~~powerful~~ movements.

Austria, the chessboard of more than a dozen nations, is a country ^{renowned} for its political spectacles which ~~are~~ ^{are} unlike anything that happens in other parts of Europe. One kind of ^{such} ~~these~~ political spectacles are ^{nationalistic} ~~the~~ struggles about Universities; (Innsbruck, Prague, Dorn, Vienna, Agram have been the stage, ^{and other places are yet to come.} but certainly Lemberg has beaten them all. The ~~the~~ play is much the same

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everywhere: each nation wants to have ~~its~~ ^{its} own universities and as
 in Austria there are but governmental universities, it ~~sets~~ ^{assails} the government
 with demands ^{on} (to establish such institutions). The Austrian government, however, keeps on counter-
 acting these ~~strives~~ ^{endeavors} ~~for the purpose~~ ^{and scientific work} for one reason ~~there~~ it considers
 higher education to be a ~~very~~ rather costly extravagance and tries to keep
 down these expenses as much as possible, and besides, it ~~prefers~~ ~~deals with~~
 develops (in clinging) a wonderful tenacity to the status quo, which gave the Germans their
 preponderance. ^{in Austria} There ^{conflict} ~~that~~ is the plot, which leads to more or less dramatic
 scenes developements, until it is solved ^{usually by impairing little the prestige of the obstinate central} ^{and not without some let} ^{authority} ~~one or the other~~.

(as regards violence of action) (mentioned before) But certainly none of these spectacles can be compared with the one ^{being} played
 in Lemberg now, it has beaten them all. ~~At least~~ In the whole history
 of universities there will be few such acts of barbarous vandalism as
 that perpetrated by a gang of Ruthenian students which, on Jan 24th 1907,
~~broke into the University~~ ^{also} ~~armed with cudgels, knives and axes,~~ ~~assaulted~~
 attacked ~~unhindered~~ ^{invisibly} the University Secretary and wounded him severely,
~~then~~ - he owes his life to good luck, having worn a thick fur-cap - then
 broke into the lecture rooms and the assembly hall, where they smashed
 every thing, tables, windows, & stools, lamps, ~~and~~ broke the gas pipes, and
~~But the fact which is most~~ tore to pieces a number of pictures,
 of former University Rector of the ^{with which the walls of the assembly hall are adorned} ~~some of the~~ works of the best Polish

painters and some of them masterpieces of portrait painting.

For ~~a~~ an inhabitant of western Europe it is hard to believe these ^{conceive} modern iconoclasts to have been university students, as he is used to associate ^{this word with} moral and intellectual ^{it will be} a ~~higher~~ ^{higher} standard. But ^{it will be} still harder for him to understand the psychology of the whole Ruthenian press, which found no fault with this deed and in the later development of the affair turned even to glorifying its ^{conceivable} ~~perpetrators~~ ^{perpetrators}. All this is unjustifiable, but we may try to make it ~~explainable~~ ^{conceivable}.

First of all, who are these Ruthenians? They are a ~~new~~ ^{conceive} nation, ^{To explain this we must dive a little into ethnology and history,} ~~a nation in growing.~~ The people have been living for many centuries in their ~~present~~ ^{for} country, of course, but the name of the people is little known in the ^{annals} history of European civilization and ~~even modern ethnology~~ ^{science} will be at a loss about giving precise statistical data. In ^{eastern} Galicia (Austrian Poland) ^{where} they are called "Ruthenians" by the Germans, "Rusini" by the Poles, ~~and~~ there are about 3 millions of them, but the majority is living on the other side of the Russian border (round Kiev) where they are called Little-Russians but are not recognised as a ~~separate~~ ^{separate} nationality by the Russian government so that ^{exact} ~~precise~~ ^{of them} numbers are not available. Their language is ~~just~~ ^{in some respect} a branch of the ~~slavonic~~ ^{slavonic} tongue, ~~somewhat~~ ^{somewhat} intermediate between Polish and Russian. The difference between Ruthenian and Polish is ~~certainly~~ ^{hardly} greater than

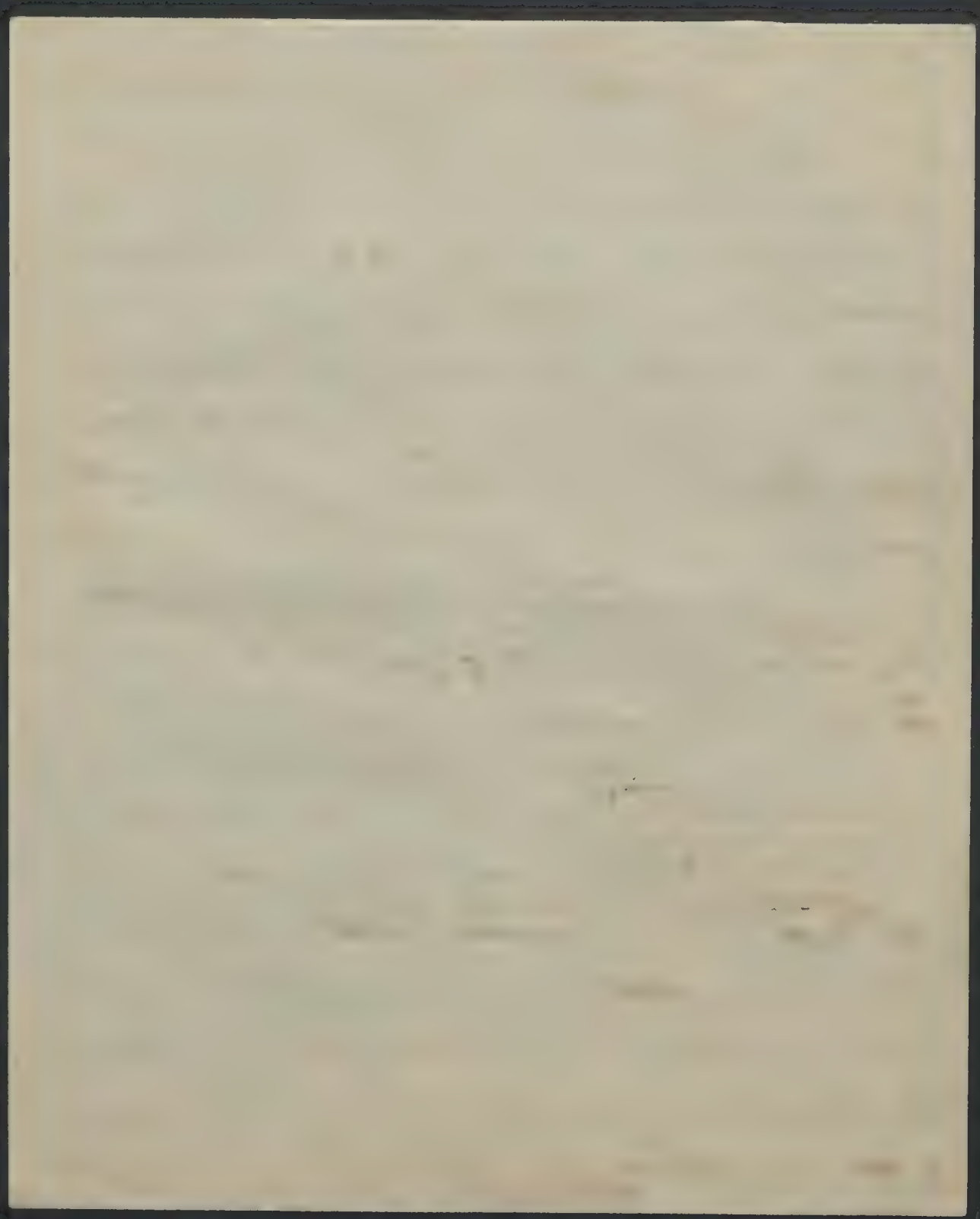
and the racial difference certainly has not been greater originally than between Little and Great Russians
between various German dialects, Plattdeutsch, Schwyzer deutsch, Bayerisch etc.
But whilst in modern times ^{has got to be common}
In Germany the German Schriftsprache is ~~the~~ ^{the} link joining all minor the
(thanks to Luther's bible and to the common government) ^{branches of German} ~~people~~ ^{people}
the Slavic peoples never were united by such bonds, ~~and the process~~
^{With them} ~~of differentiation~~ On the contrary ~~the~~ ^{the} political history has fostered the process of
differentiation. The greatest barrier erected by history, to divide Russians

and Little Russians from the closely allied Poles was certainly: ~~the~~ religion.
^{were reached by Christianity on its way}
~~While~~ The former ones got the Christianity from Byzantium, ~~from the~~
^{got the Holy Books} ~~from the~~ ^{by the Slavic country (apostles and saints)}
~~from the~~ they were taught the Bible translated in old Slavic tongue, written
^{they had been}
in Slavic characters which are derived from the Greek alphabet, ~~and they~~
^{In consequence Russians} ~~clung~~ ^(and later on to the orthodox church)
clung in all spiritual matters to the ~~the~~ Greek Patriarch, while the Poles

^{more} ~~more~~ Roman Catholics adopted the Latin alphabet
depending on the Roman see.

The result proved fatal for the ^{directions} ~~development~~ ^{intellectual} ~~development~~ of the Russian people.
^{by the medium of the church and their scholars}
The Poles ^{came to} cultivated ~~the~~ classic languages and literature, ^{so} much that
^{at least for some time} ~~the~~ ^{the} nobility ^{which} a fact which explains the ^{life}
Latin ~~was~~ ^{played} ~~the~~ ^{as} the language of ~~conversation~~ ^{the} ~~left~~ ^{many traces even in}
modern Polish, ~~they~~ ~~that~~ The sons of nobles went to study in Italian
and German universities, a university was founded in Cracow as early as 1364,

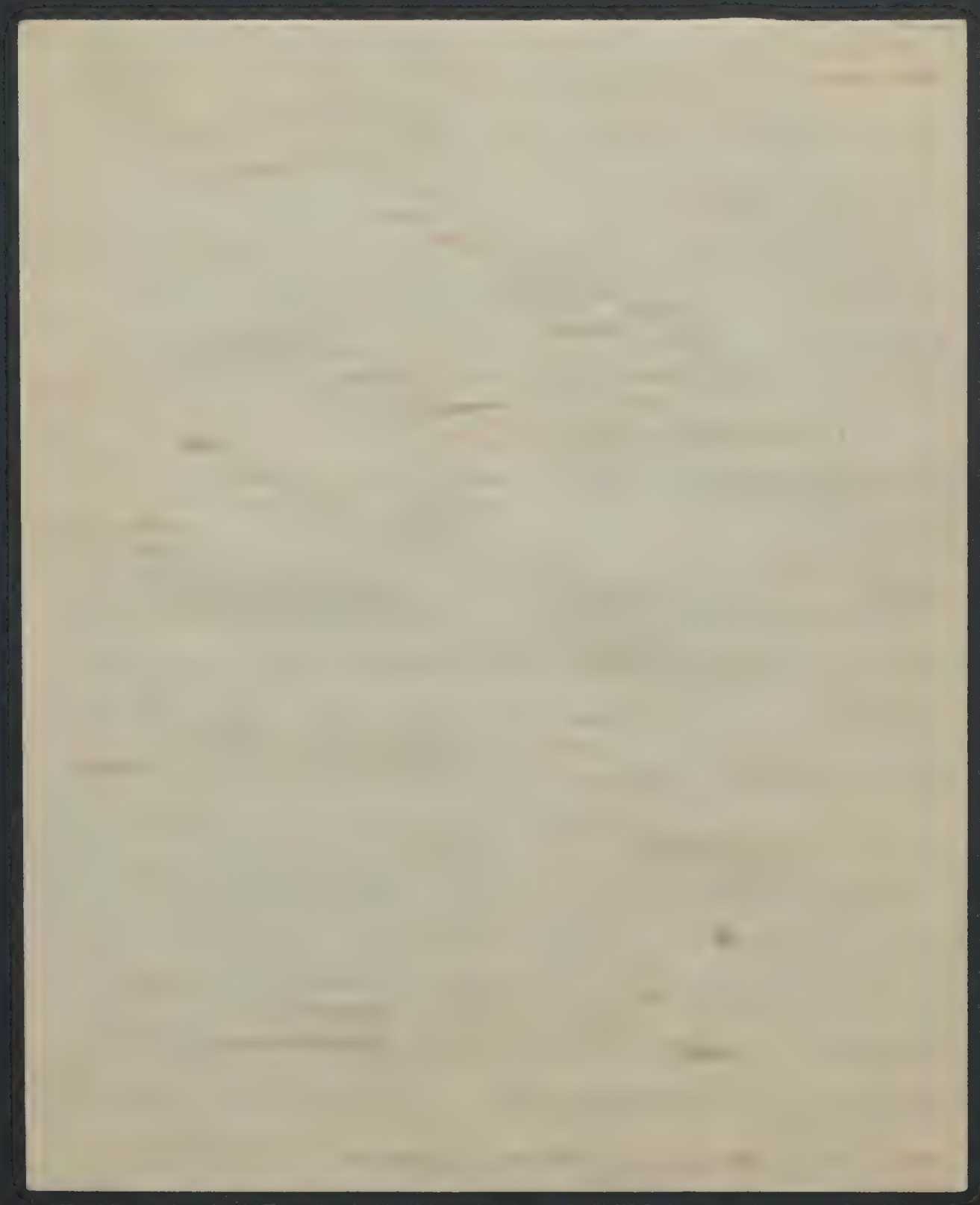
Polish scholars and writers took part in the whole intellectual development
of western Europe, ~~while~~ ^{In} ~~the~~ ^{isolated from the rest of Europe by the ignorance of Latin language and letters and} the eastern countries ^{reduced to} on their own resources
~~the Russian people~~ among the Russian people: ^{so much the weaker} ~~equally~~ ^{of position}



the reign of ~~were kept in~~ barbarism and ignorance lasted for centuries longer, increased by the terror of frequent invasions of the Tartars ^{and the Mongolic tribes} which ~~produced~~ ^{left} them an admixture of Mongolic blood and of Asiatic wildness. ~~to whom they owe~~ ^{who left them}

The incessant ^{efforts} ~~studies~~ of the Popes to ~~win~~ ^{win} over those peoples to their dominion were crowned ~~had~~ ^{had} but a very small success. ^{Still} In 1439 a part of Russian population ^{depending on the ~~idea~~ of King ~~Isidore~~} ^{was} induced to acknowledge the Pope as their spiritual leader, ^{and this union was confirmed in 1584} ~~but their liturgy~~ ^{they were not required to change their} ~~as they~~ ^{the so} ~~kept their slavish liturgy~~ ^{collected back their a Greek style} ~~their priests~~ ^{went on} ~~were allowed to marry~~ ^{their Syrian} while Roman Catholics were forbidden they kept their own unworldly ~~their~~ ^{their} alphabet and their ~~style~~ ^{style} calendar. ~~For~~

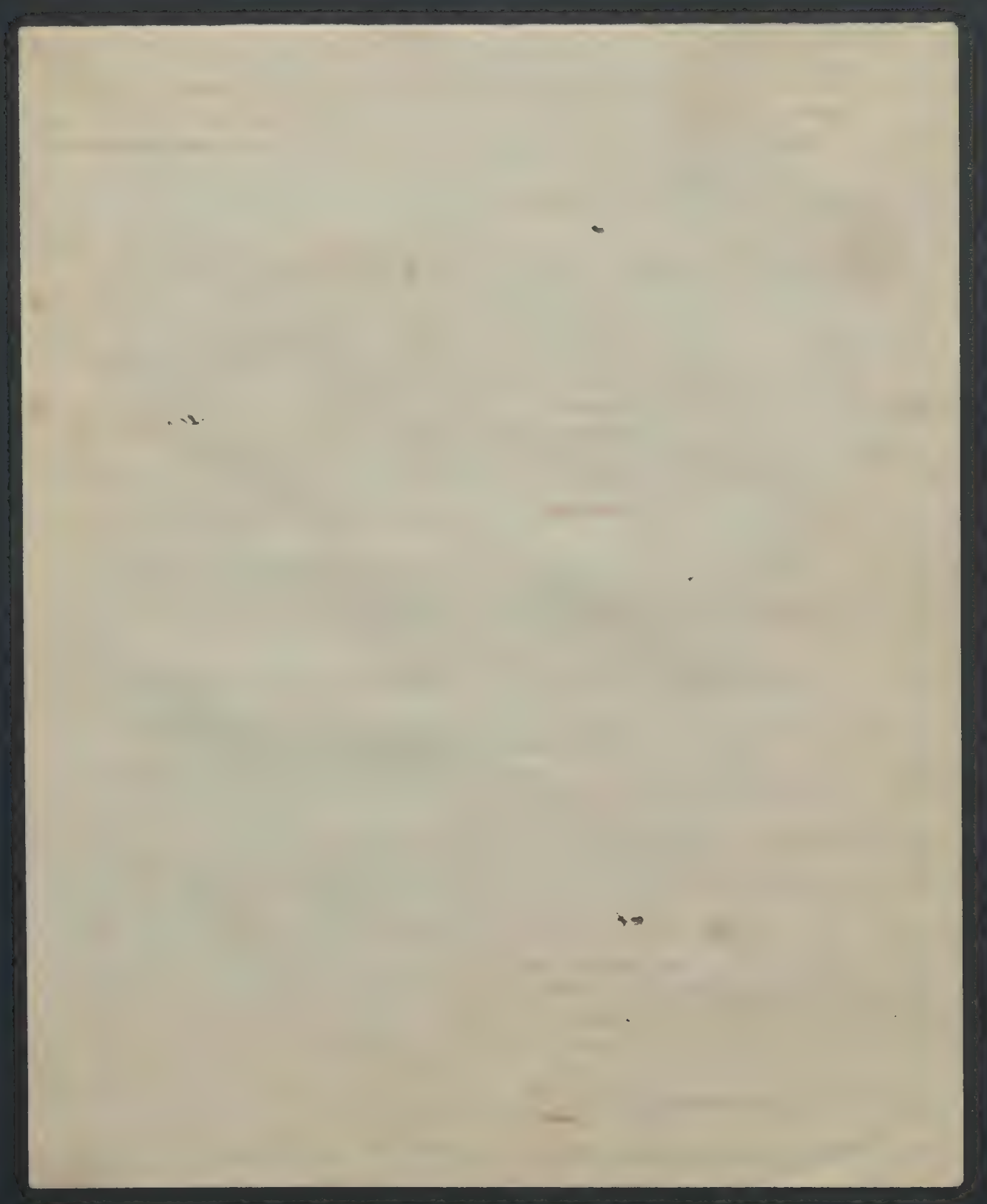
That may be called the birthday of Ruthenian nationality. ^{but no national feeling} ~~For~~ difference of religion is still the most characteristic feature of Ruthenianism nowadays. ^{being} ~~As they are~~ ^{being} ~~Ruthenian~~ ^{United} (acknowledging the Pope) they are opposed to the ^{schismatic} ~~Russians~~, and ~~as they are~~ ^{being} Greek-Catholics, they are opposed to the Roman Catholic Poles. ^{It is quite natural, of course, to find that} ~~What as to the~~ ^{since} (The Greek Catholic clergy, ~~of course~~, are also the most ^{Ruthenian} ~~fanatic~~ ^{since} nationalists, ~~as~~ ^{their} personal and common interests are in this respect identical. ^{Further respects the Ruthenians have little distinctive} ~~As to the language it must be~~ ^{except for their religious denomination} mentioned that ~~it is so little consolidated~~ ^{displays} that nearly every writer and nearly every newspaper ~~has~~ ^{displays} some particularity in words and in orthography, and ^{as a} ~~it is~~ ^{most} ~~characteristic~~ ^{feature} ~~that~~ ^{it ought to be} ~~there is a powerful~~ party among them (the Poles call them ~~Mokolepsi~~ ^{Mokolepsi}) which is denying the existence of a separate Ruthenian language and a separate Ruthenian



^{that}
 nation altogether. Its chief newspaper in Galwa "Haliosamin" reads much like
~~in fact, this party~~ spoken by common country people, and
 Russian, ~~they~~ considers Ruthenian only as a dialect of Russian ~~and is content~~
 Its political ideal is complete amalgamation
 to amalgamate (with Russia) altogether.

There was a time when on the contrary, Ruthenians considered themselves
 and a union with it against the numerous foes up, the party rep of ^{which} ~~the party rep of~~ ^{and so of} ~~and so of~~
 to be Poles! In the XV - XVI century the prestige of Poland was so powerful
 that Lithuania and little Russia ^{which had been involved in incessant struggles with} ~~united~~ voluntarily with it, a long and
 that which marks a powerful advance of western civilization towards the east
 process of unification ^{which was completed formally by the union of Lublin 1569}
~~that was~~ The mass of the population in those periods had no feeling of
 This union did not succeed ~~in~~ in amalgamating the masses of population
 but (it amalgamated the higher classes; what Ruthenian nobles there were
 whose power and splendour exercised a fascinating ^{and disloyal in it entirely} ~~attraction~~
 they joined the Polish nobility; it was the time when men like the
 writer Orzechowski called themselves: natione Polonus, gente Ruthenus.

These historical facts explain the main features of the present conditions
 of the Ruthenians. They are essentially a people of peasants. ~~There is~~
~~no Ruthenian~~ While in Poland the numerous class of the nobles was the
 backbone of the nation, the Ruthenians have no nobility, nor ~~the~~
 highly cultured ~~and~~ ^{of society} classes which have developed out of ^{nobility} ~~it~~ (in Poland,
~~in Poland~~ A characteristic feature of Poland contrasted with western countries
 which also largely ^{and their substitution by foreign, Jewish} ~~was the cause of its political weakness in modern times~~
 as the weak development of middle classes of ^{and their substitution by foreign, Jewish} ~~and their substitution by foreign, Jewish~~
 dislocations in consequence. But still, there is a middle class of artisans,
 manufacturers, merchant people, ^{which is growing rapidly in present times} ~~in the towns~~ — there is nothing of this kind



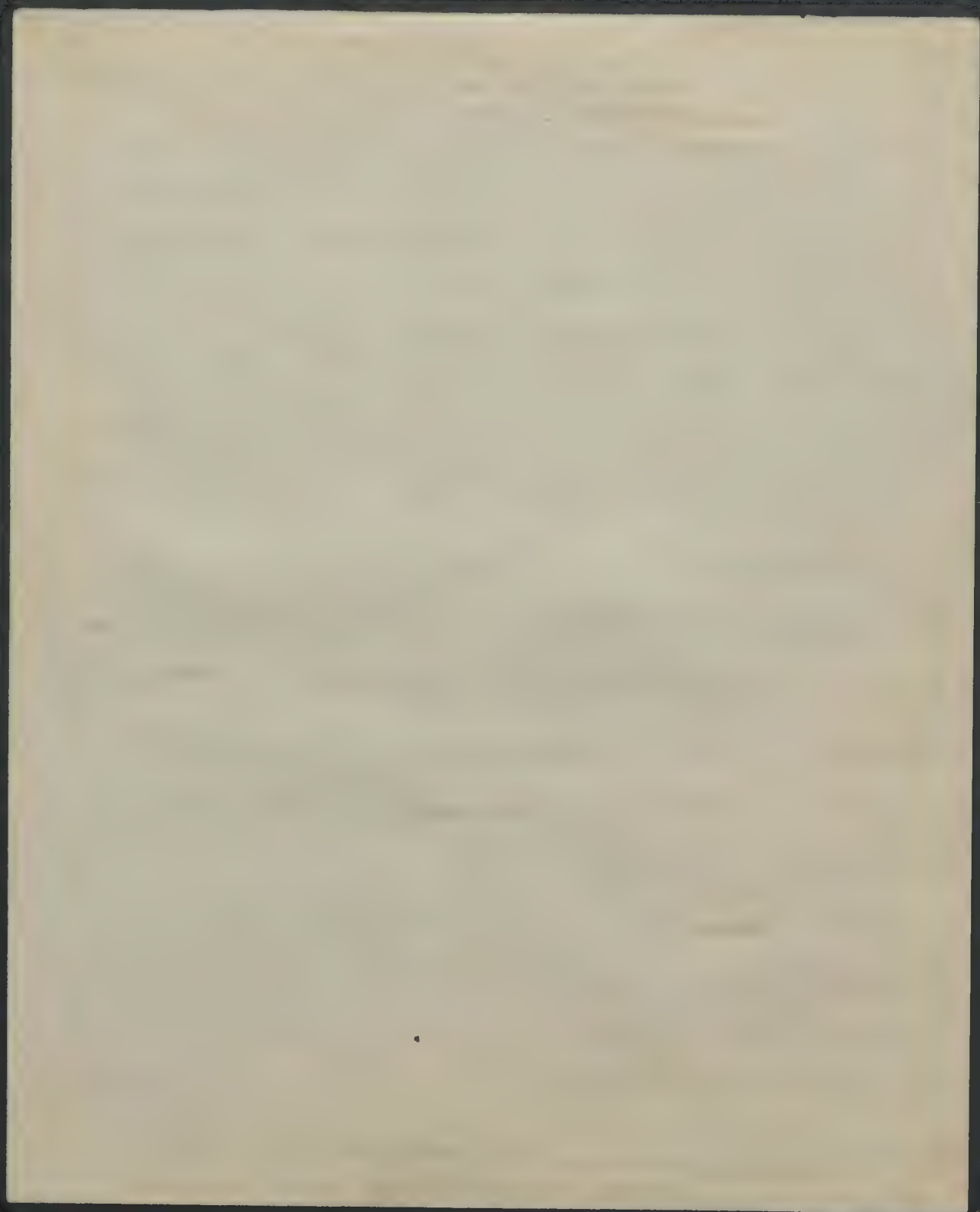
(While in eastern Galicia and in Poland the population is homogeneous which have reached a much higher state of ^{civilization} ~~There is nothing so~~ ^{among Ruthenians.} ~~mixed Polish of~~ ^{a great part of} ~~cultural development~~ ^{in eastern Galicia the country} ~~population is entirely~~ ^{into some Polish administration} ~~Ruthenian~~ (Greek Catholic) while the towns are ^{or nearly so} entirely Polish. ^{very} ~~quite~~ ^{interesting} ~~and~~ some figures for the sake of illustration. According to the census for 1900 the Polish and Ruth. population respectively in eastern Galicia was divided according to their occupation:

	Agricult.	Indust.	Commerce	Intellectual	Swabian	Others
Polish	58.7	12.8	7.7	3.8	5.0	11.0
Ruth.	94.4	1.4	0.4	0.5	0.9	3.4

^{underlines} ^{emphasizes} one of chief difficulties of the ^{nationalistic} ^{in our case} question a division would be easy to draw if the ^{Polish and Ruthenian} ^{territories} were clearly separated ^{as the} ^{divided} but they are not, ^{the} over the whole of ^{the} eastern Galicia there is spread a ^{population of} ~~immense~~ 1,600,000 consisting of ~~comprising~~ by landlards, town population and interspersed patches of Polish farmers while the bulk of ~~the country~~ ^{the} agricultural labourers and owners of ^{in the country} small holdings (is Ruthenian). ^{sets forth}

And this ~~explains~~ ^{sets forth} one salient point of the whole question too: the social ~~and~~ antagonism between the Poles who are ^{usually looking down on} ~~considering~~ the Ruthenians as a semi-barbarian country ^{people} population and the latter ones who are opposing to them with ^{all} ^{and every} the hatred of the humble against the superior in ^{power and intelligence.}

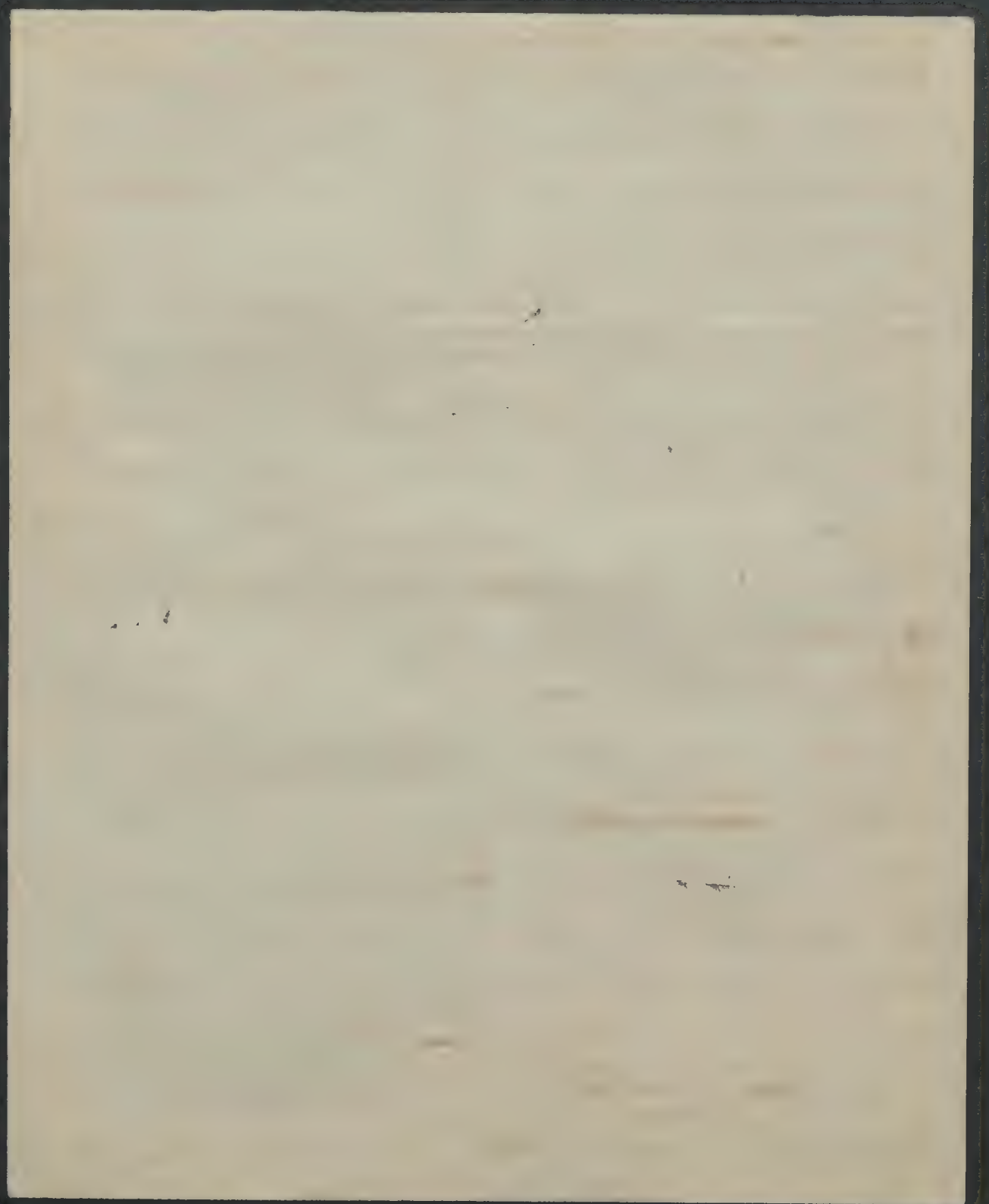
*) In the whole of Galicia the percentage of an alphabetization for children from 12 to 21 years of age is 27% and 30% for male and female Poles, but 56.7 and 69.7% for male and female Ruthenians.



On the other ~~hand~~ ^{might be argued} it cannot be denied such a)
(the) close territorial intermixture of Polish and Ruthenian elements, which in
a similar way but ~~with~~ with decreasing percentage of Poles is to be observed in
the whole Ruthenian territory down to Kiev and Odessa, to be a factor which
ought to have proved very favorable for complete amalgamation of these elements,
and this brings us back to the ^{root of the problem} question alluded to before: "What is the real
~~If the ethnographical differences between Poles and Ruthenians are so small~~
cause of the differentiation of these Ruthenians from the Poles peoples?"

^{linguistic and} The ethnographical differences ^{as mentioned before} ~~are~~ ^{have been mentioned to be} comparatively trifling in comparison with the
differences between various elements of German nation, not to speak of the
heterogeneousness of the English. ~~It is a common~~ ^{fact} The chief ^{fact} of differentiation
^{however} ~~has been pointed out before:~~ ^{already} ~~it is the~~ ^{it is} religion. ~~It is a common~~ ^{There is much truth in the Polish} saying:
~~But~~ ^{what} makes up a Ruthenian? Greek-catholicism, ~~and~~ the
~~Polish~~ ^{Slavic} calendar and the ~~Slavic~~ Russian alphabet. ~~otherwise he is a Pole~~

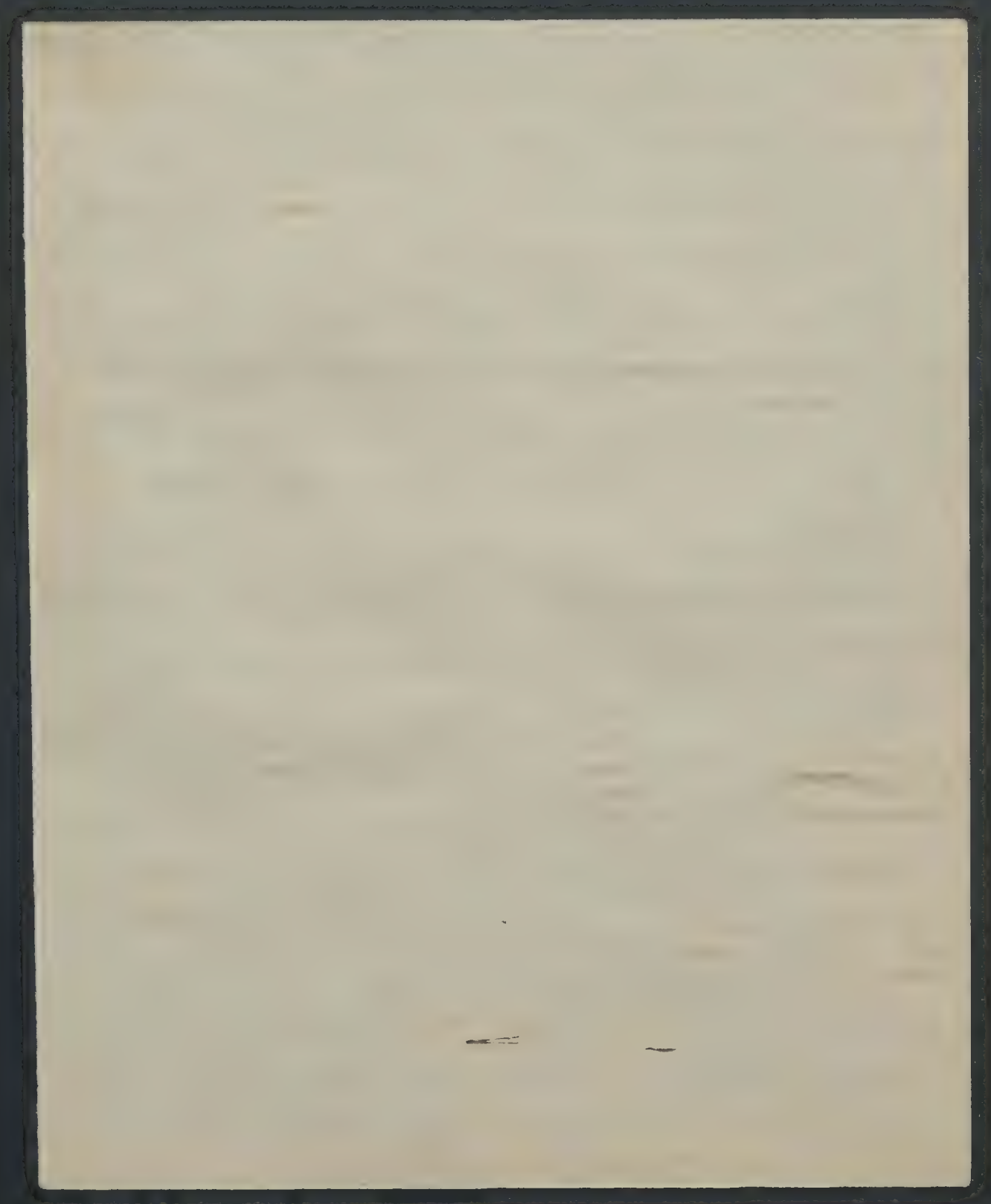
But there is another factor which has played a prominent part in
awakening a ^{national separation} ~~separate national~~ feeling ⁱⁿ this people: the policy of the
Austrian government. The principle of ~~this~~ Austrian policy in respect to internal
affairs ~~can be~~ ^{designed} is expressed by the maxim: Divide et impera. To arouse
feelings of mutual enmity between the different peoples, in order to ^{prevent} ~~check~~ their
union against the ruling ^{minority} Germans, ^{is and always has been} that ~~is~~ the secret of the art of governing
in Austria. ^{and since} ~~From~~ the year ^{of the first division of Poland} 1772 when Galicia was occupied by Austria
the policy of ^{up to recent years} ~~the~~ ^{was endeavoring} the central government ~~to~~ to stir up separatist feelings in the



Ruthenian people, ^{in order} to turn them against the Poles (who, ^{and to check the power of the Polish nobility,} ~~although~~ ^{defeated} ~~but~~ were still a powerful and dangerous enemy. This policy proved very effective, in 1848 when the Poles took active part in the great ^{general} movement for liberty and constitution, the Ruthenians proved loyal to the absolutistic government, and up to recent years these ^{Eastern} "Tyroleses" ^{like to be called} ~~as they sometimes call themselves,~~ ~~have~~ ^{always} have opposed to the autonomic and federalistic tendencies of the Poles, have supported ^{all efforts to strengthen the power of} the central government ^{by these means have contributed to upholding} ~~and~~ ^{the} ~~not~~ ^{predominance} ~~the weakness of their political influence is to be thanked for their having succeeded in doing more~~ of the German in Austria. That explains us why the Ruthenians ^{mischievous in this respect} ~~are~~ ^{now} are attacking with such ~~brutal~~ ^{the Polish town} ~~wrath~~ the Polish university in Lemberg, ^{but} ~~not~~ ^{don't mind a bit} ~~into satisfaction~~ ^{the existence of} with an entirely German University in ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Cernowitz~~ ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{capital} ~~of the~~ ^{neighbouring} ~~neighbouring~~ ^{overwhelming} ~~majority~~ ^{majority}, It explains why there never has been heard any voice of protest against the avowedly germanising tendencies of this university ^{while the exceedingly tolerant and impartial ^{Polish} administration of Galicia is fairly denounced as a system of injustice} and of the ~~Polish~~ ^{Polish} government. It explains why in a time when the whole world's ^{press} ~~opinion~~ is resounding with indignation about the mean and ^{brutal} ~~absurd~~ war led by the ^{Russian} ~~German~~ government against Polish school-children, there is ^{such} ^{blame} ~~(no word of reproof to be found)~~ in the Ruthenian press, ^{and} it explains why ^{German} the Vienna Press in the whole matter now under discussion has supported the side of the Ruthenians ~~quite~~ by publishing such misrepresentation of their case as are ~~certainly inconsistent~~ with "bona fides" on the authors' part, scarcely consistent

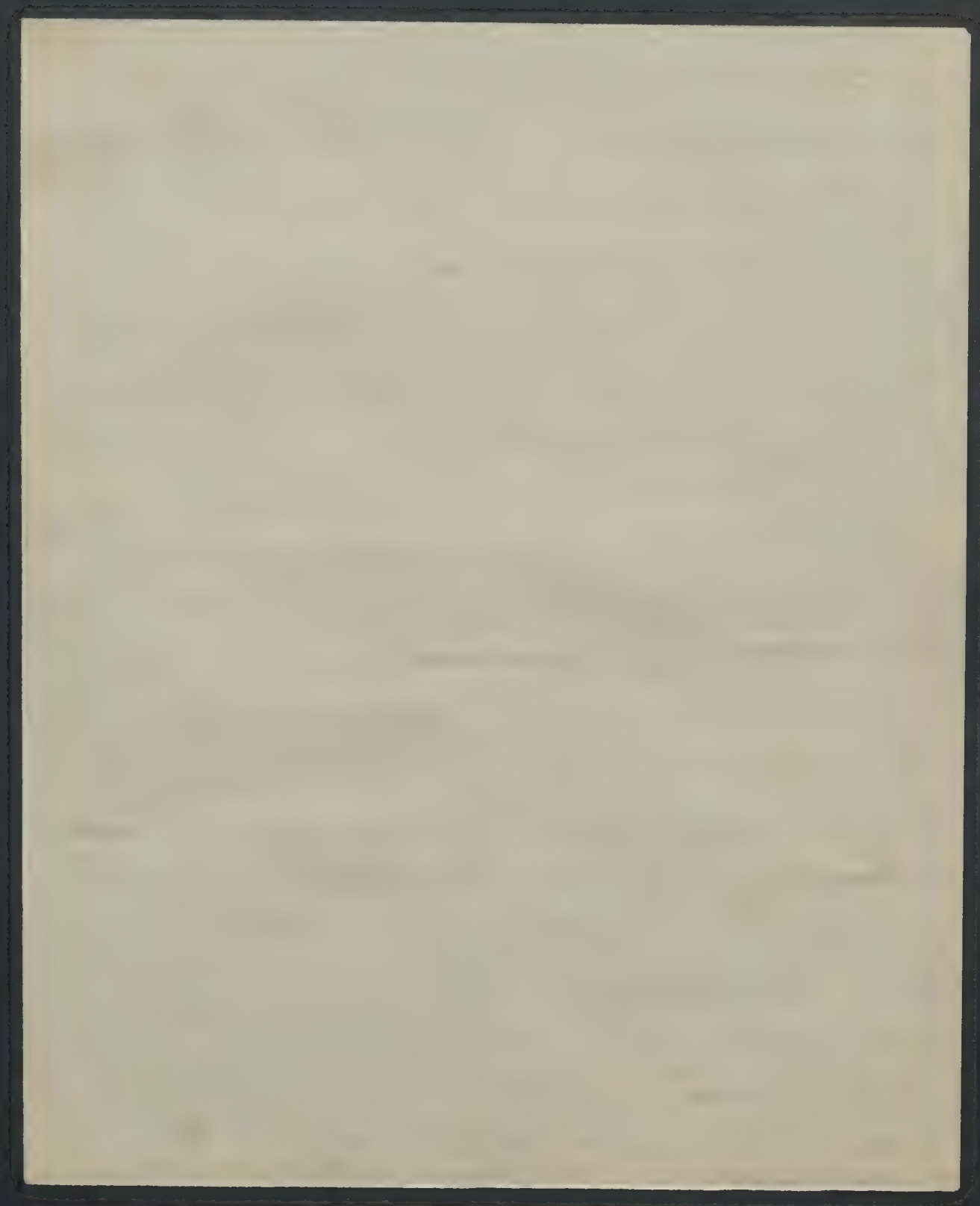
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Certainly Ruthenians never would have separated as a different nation from the Poles, had it not been ⁱⁿ the personal interest of the Greek catholic clergy and of the Austrian government. But it is ^{now} ~~is~~ now, ~~the~~ arguing about the why and the if, the fact is they are separated now, and it is a great ~~error~~ ^{mistake} which many Poles are committing ~~to disregard this~~ ^{on the part of many Poles, to disregard this} fact and ~~trying to endeavour to bring about to~~ ^{to endeavour mending} ~~trying to mend~~ things which are ~~broken~~ ^{irreparable}. It is very touching to hear Poles from Cracow or from Warsaw, who are yet full of the historical ideal of a union of Poles with Ruthenians against the common foe speaking with biblical forbearance about the extravagant claims of ~~the~~ our Ruthenian brethren, and ~~granting~~ granting them concession after concession, while these, knowing very well that nothing is so powerful in stirring up national separatism than hatred, ^{accept} ~~take~~ the missions ^{cry to the ears of the whole world} ~~for~~ but ~~they~~ (injustice! and ^{decay} ~~because as if~~ the Poles had been their fiercest oppressors. Reprehensible forbearance is a ~~great~~ virtue but it does not repay well in practical politics. ~~about it~~ ^{at least} one important consequence of the recent events is that the Poles have ^{been disillusioned} ~~realised~~ ^{about} ~~their~~ their actual situation in respect to the Ruthenians and have ~~been~~ ^{incensed} realised the necessity of defense against ~~the~~ attacks of those radical elements, who ~~if~~ candidly confess they would not be satisfied with any concessions, until the Poles (^{more than} 1 1/2 millions) abandon the whole of eastern Galice to them and emigrate on the western side of the San (river dividing Eastern and West Galice)



But ~~is~~ are the Ruthenians not right in complaining about injustice?
 Let us examine their claims in the question under consideration. ^(which is characteristic of their political methods.)

What the Ruthenians say, sounds reasonable enough: "The 5 millions of Poles in Galicia have two universities, ~~but~~ is it not injustice if we who number 3 ^{hitherto} are without separate university, so that our students are forced to speak in a foreign tongue. We want our own university ~~and~~ and for the meanwhile we ask equal rights for the ^{with the Poles,} Lemberg university; ~~and~~ it must be bilingual." ^{transformed into} The eventuality of a bilingual university in Lemberg seems modest enough. But the whole argumentation falls to pieces, if we consider two undeniable truths. First of all: universities are not like board schools, which can be ^{installed at any time} ~~instituted~~ in any place, ~~if found a case~~ whose institutions can be changed at any moment; they are the ^{the} flower of highest intellectual culture of a nation. ~~they are united with it by~~ They are the outcome of a long historical development, of immense labour and brain work ^{therefore sound} and are a national property, which ~~cannot~~ ^{man} no ~~other nation~~ has a right to touch. The university of Cracow is one of the oldest on the continent and is inseparable of Polish intellectual life. ~~Also the Lemberg University, though much younger~~ ^{originally the Polish} (founded by King Jan Casimir 1661), is a Polish institution of historical importance, connected with many names ^(prominent in literature and learning). Its fate had been ^{rather fluctuating} ~~very~~ changeable, when ^{a year after the annexion of Galicia by Austria 1843} the Jesuits order was abolished, the University was closed, and when it was reestablished by Emperor Josef II in 1784 and Emperor Francis I in 1816



there was nothing left of the former period than ^{its} ~~the~~ same. ~~The new one~~

In connexion with other measures of coercion introduced in Galicia
 the German language was ordered to be the medium of University lectures and
 procedures, German professors were installed and the whole institution developed
 a decidedly germanizing tendency ^{is played by} ~~like the still existing~~ ^{mentioned before} ~~Crescent University,~~
~~it was a~~

it got to be a german stronghold in a ^{for some time} ~~slave~~ country; just the same role which now

Such a state of things was possible in the old absolutistic and centralistic
^{German} Austria. ^{which in many respects resembled absolutistic Russia} ~~But since the constitution was granted~~, the power of the non-German
 majority in Austria made itself felt, ~~in spite of the outlived system of~~

~~electoral parliament~~ ~~the~~ When the constitution was granted in 1860
 (under the ministry of the Polish count Goluchowski), the ^{instability} ~~stability~~ of the old
 system of ^{(police and} ~~coercion~~ ^{spies} became apparent, and when the ^{improvements} ~~war~~ of 1866 had
 clearly ^{shown} ~~the~~ Austrian interests not to be identical with ^{German ones} ~~German ones~~

the Poles and the Czechs came to the front (as important factors in
 the whole Austrian policy, ~~and~~ ^{as rulers in their own country and}
 This brought relief from the German yoke in the ^{University} ~~University~~.

The central government - could have preferred by reasons expounded before to
 give it over to the Ruthenians than to the Poles, it tried to ^{install at first (1862)} ~~install~~ two Ruthenian
 professorships, ^{apart of the German ones} but it had to give ^{it up} ^{its place} for the simple reason that there ~~was~~ ^{was}
 not a man among the Ruthenians fit to fill these chairs. ^{They could not be filled until 1877 and 1892 respectively.} ~~It was~~ In spite of
 all efforts of Austrian policy ^{to stir them up} this people was still a quantity negligible in
 intellectual ^{and political} ~~life~~ ~~at that time~~, while the Poles had all the

by methods well known, now by the name of
(and ruining it ~~the~~ Russian bureaucracy

The German officials who had been ruling over the country ~~the~~ like
were swept away, the Polish language ~~with facilities~~ of the ~~Polish nation~~ was
⁽¹⁸⁶⁹⁾ reintroduced in all offices and in the schools, and also the Galy unit, was relieved from the
German yoke.

advantage of their old historical, literary and artistic culture.
~~By incessant struggle one after the other~~ ^{some} professorship turned into the hands of the Poles.

Then in 1871 all restrictions ~~the~~ the establishment of ~~private~~ lecturers (~~Privatdozenten~~)

were removed which hitherto had prevented

~~using the~~ Polish or Ruthenian

the University was ~~occupied~~ ^{occupied} in few years by a ~~number~~ ^{number} of Polish men of ~~learning~~ ^{learning}

whilst there ~~were no~~ ^{did not turn up any} Ruthenians. The government had no choice, in 1879 ~~the~~ ^P

it had to issue the decree: that the ~~internal~~ ^{official} language of the University is

Polish and that all ~~lecturers~~ ^{professors} had to lecture in this language except

when special different provisions are made ^{in the case of}

~~the professors of Ruthenian lettering.~~

as was the case with the Chair of Ruth. lang.

~~turkish later were added~~

~~at~~ Ruth. hist. and two or three others

That was the official acknowledgment of the Polish character of the university, ~~that~~

or as the Poles put it: the restitution of the ~~Polish~~ ^{original} Poles in their ~~rights~~ ^{rights}.

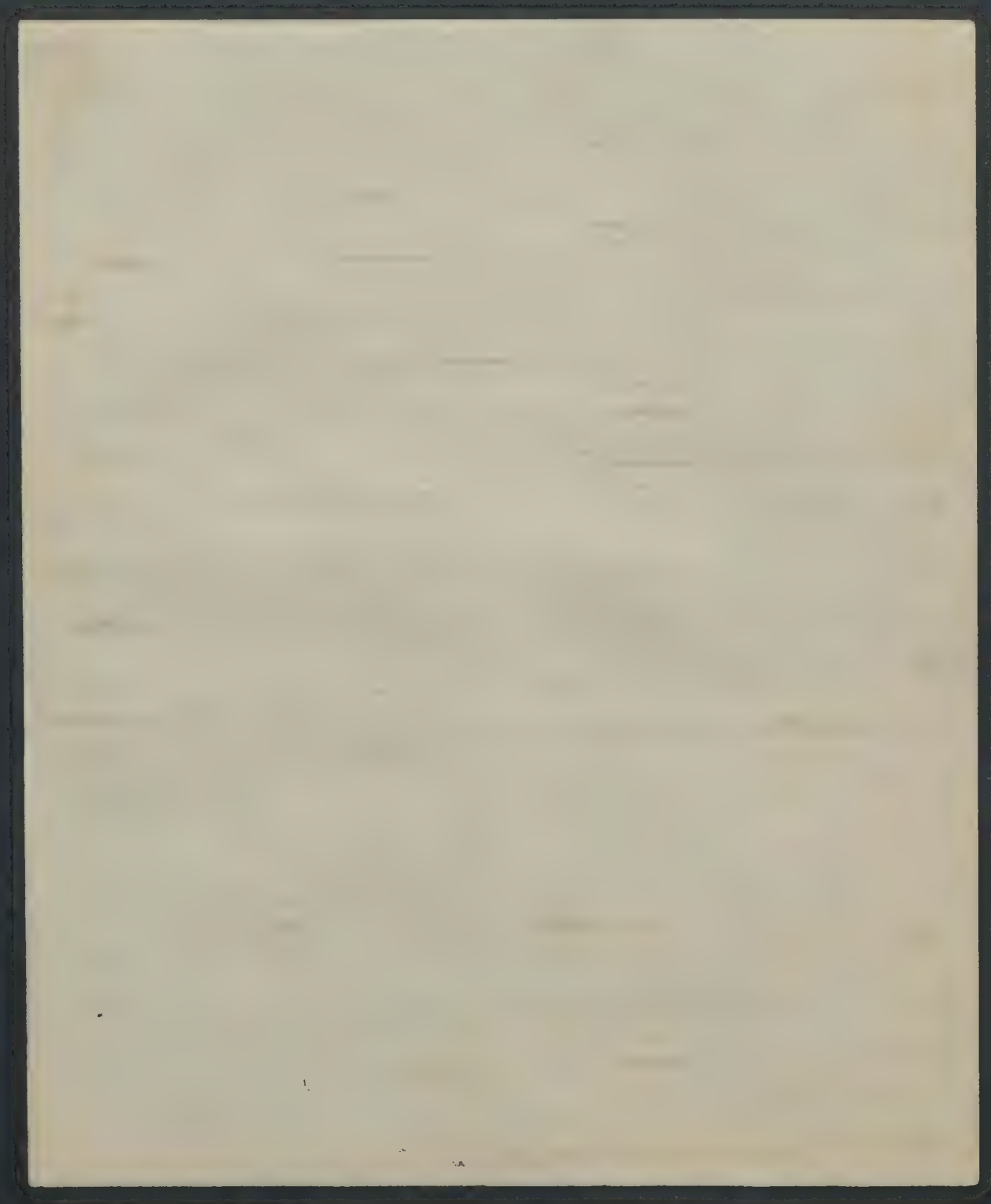
~~we~~ We have dwelt at some length on this historical development, in order to
 show ~~with what~~ ^{what} difficulties by what slow process, ^(but peaceful and perfectly legal endeavours) by what ~~labourious~~ ^{labourious} ~~struggles~~

the Poles ^{succeeded to} ~~reinvigorate~~ ^{revivify} their university and ^{in order} to explain the affection with which
 they cling to it.

Now let us consider the statistical arguments put forward by the Ruthenians.

The numbers of population ~~were~~ ^{only} at first sight seem convincing ~~that~~ for
~~that~~, it is quite evident that the necessity for an institution of this kind
 cannot be judged according to the whole number of population but according to
 the number of men who ^{want to study at the} ~~require~~ university. ~~studies~~

In 1870 there were 442 Ruthenians (out of which 291 divinity students) and
 480 Poles (80 divinity) and 145 Germans and other nations



In the present year there are about 950 Ruthenians (out of which 340 divinity) and about ~~2400~~²⁴⁰⁰ Poles (out of which 120 divinity). The superiority on the part of the Poles is so colossal that any further discussion ^{of this point} ~~appears~~ ^{appears} superfluous.

So much for the ^{academic} question which side is rather entitled to own the ~~university~~. But now let us turn to the actual ^{proceedings} development of party tactics. There ^{point} one thing is very remarkable: the Ruthenians 1060 104

But there is another aspect of the question which is still more important. ~~What~~ ^{admit} Who would there be to teach at a Ruthenian University? ~~It is to judge about~~ ^{in general} such imponderable ~~facts~~ as the culture of a people is always a precarious undertaking as the judge ~~cannot~~ can never dispose of the accusation of partiality, so let us consider some ^{statistical figures} ~~characteristic~~ ^{facts} which are ^{can be taken as a measure of} ~~characteristic enough~~ ^{higher} ~~scientific studies in Lemberg.~~ ^{to appreciate the} ~~But first we must~~ ^{consider} ~~note~~ ^{higher} ~~the first step of the scale by which learned men ascend towards professorships~~ ^{the usual way} ~~of attaining a professorship is their installation~~ ^{as private lecturers} ~~(after~~ ^{having} ~~not~~ ^{proved} ~~their scientific qualifications before the University Council and the educational authorities)~~ ^{as private lecturers} ~~invested~~.

~~The number of these lecturers~~ From among these lecturers as a rule not many are chosen for vacant chairs ^(this number is not limited at the Lemberg University) ~~and~~ ^{any learned man, may he wish} to lecture in Ruthenian or Polish, has equal right to establish himself as lecturer. Well, from the time when ~~the~~ ^{this} university was still running up to now not less than 162 ~~lecturers~~ ^{lecturers} and professors have ~~been~~ ^{been} installed themselves as lecturers,

If From the year 1884 when the nationality of graduates has been begun
to be registered up to now 1060 doctor degrees have been taken by
Johs and only 104 by Rattoisians.

If or special chairs are created for such of them as are well deserving and
prominent in their science.

in the faculties of law, philosophy and medicine

while there are and have been only 12 Ruthenians in the same character.

Just fact if the Ruthenians were to ^{call} scrape together all their men of learning from the whole world, they could not ^{more than minimal part} man ~~one fifth~~ of ~~all~~ the hours of the Lemberg University. If the University were withdrawn to day, they would have to close it for want of men qualified for professorships! ^{Besides,} And the students would have to ~~too~~ learn from Polish and German books, as there is no Ruthenian scientific literature. For ~~some several~~ ^(philosophy, medicine) branches of science a special terminology would have to be invented, as they never yet have been expounded in Ruthenian.

It had cost the ^{Galician authorities} ~~Ruthenian government~~ ^{a good deal of} ~~enough~~ trouble to ^{get} composed books ^{which would make ~~it~~ teaching possible} for the use in Ruthenian primary and secondary schools. ~~which were installed in recent times~~ ~~on the notion of the~~ But it is quite impossible nowadays, ^(aspirations as to not to say, under) ~~to~~ even for men of moderate culture, to satisfy their demand of intellectual pabulum by the aid of Ruthenian literature.

~~We are far from~~ I wish my intention in stating these ^(will known to everybody in this) facts may not be misunderstood. I don't ^{intend} mean to ~~scorn~~ ^{deprecating} I am far from ^{a derogating} ~~scorning~~ that people. ^(by the contrary) ~~These facts~~ are quite natural ^a ~~after~~ ^{consequence} of ~~this~~ ^{historical} antecedents which have been described in the beginning and of their present condition: ^{the Ruthenians} ~~they~~ have been and they still are, with ~~few~~ ^a ~~exceptions~~ ^{of a very small percentage} a people ^{rough} of agricultural workers. And culture is a fine flower of ^(a nation's) ~~the~~ ^{spirit}, but ^(even the Ruthenian university students are nearly all of them sons of poor farmers) it ~~is not~~ ^{is} wants time for coming to blossom.

Lemby wind, being the only one open for Greek Catholic clergy
We except divinity as ~~there always is some~~
must contain always several Ruthenian Chans in this department.

The Ruthenians are certainly gifted in some respects, ~~as they~~ their national
songs of a peculiar melancholy charm and remarkable musical character are
quite favourite with the Poles and so are ~~these~~ the products of their artistic
home industry. Their poet ^(18.) Szwedko has laid the foundations for a national
literature and there are ^{some} men doing historical researches, but there is little ^{else} ~~to~~
~~say~~ worth mentioning. Their ~~deficient~~ want of higher intellectual culture
of scientific literature and achievements are -

The feeling was among
(Rutheens and ~~Leaves~~ ^{sympathy and} certainly would merit the highest ¹⁰ esteem if their efforts were
^{under this request} directed toward raising the standard of their people. But ^{unhappily} ~~in reality~~ they do very
little of this kind, ^{the whole trend of} (their ~~policy~~ policy is ~~rather~~ ^{rather} constructive ~~but~~ ^{and every} destructive ~~than~~ ^{these} ~~than~~).
Their chief aim seems to be (to awaken the hatred of their people against the Poles,
to raise by all sorts of misstatements ^{the} opinion in Vienna and abroad against ~~the Poles~~ ^{these} ~~the Poles~~)
and to do them harm as much as possible than to elevate their own people.

It is rather sad to see ~~that~~ ^{these} ~~men~~ ^{that} of ~~all~~ real value but the most radical, empty headed ~~and~~ and stout linged demagogues there are coming to the front (to see now they) and are leading the down masses towards electioneering and middle-house politics instead of social and cultural productive work. deploying

politics instead of social and cultural productive work. The same characteristics ^{features} of this national struggle are ^{displayed} apparent in ~~illustrated by~~ the University affair. ~~But they ought to aim~~ ^{They consider} ~~They consider themselves as a superfunction.~~

~~name days, and that is a fact which cannot be changed.~~ ~~So nobody~~ ~~therefore also~~
~~Their endeavours~~ ^{ish desire} ^{(as an sign of rational pride} ~~is~~ ^{is} certainly justifiable enough,
 of getting on ^{the} ~~their own~~ ^{the} ~~dish~~

All reasonable people admit that and ^{the} leaders too admit quite candidly they have no objections to it. The way to do it is quite obvious, ^{they} ~~have~~ ^{ought} to educate ~~the~~ ^{and they ought to produce} ~~men~~ ^{a sufficient number of students, and able ones for which it could be worth while} ~~who were~~ ^{capable of obtaining lectures and professorships,} ~~and~~ ^{establishing a separate} ~~university~~ ^{university}. ~~For they were prepared~~ ^{But they} ~~the~~ ^{government}, the government, even if unwilling, could easily be induced, especially by the aid of the Poles, to grant them ^{of this} ~~was~~ ^{university}. But what are they doing? They ~~are~~ ^{are} ~~arranging~~ ^{are} ~~rows and acts of barbarous violence~~ ^{as described at the beginning} at the Polish university in Lemberg, where ^{they} number only one fourth of the ~~number~~ ^{whole} of

~~There~~ In the last ~~few~~ years, especially ^{in the history of Little Russia} under the influence of the near East, ~~the~~ which always ^{was a prominent feature of their} popular movements and ^{grows} the radical anarchist tendency ^{which is symbolized} there spreads a movement ~~which is denoted~~ ^{those} by the title of one of the Russian papers: Hagdemaki, the name of ^{those} Yamseset gangs of robbers which in the XVIII century had been pillaging ^{fighting and plundering} (and struggling ^{there} against social law and order) ~~as famous for these~~ Little Russia ^{being captured} ~~represented~~ by the Polish state.

This is not only contrary to existing law but it would be quite impracticable, as it would lead to such ridiculous consequences as that

Principal universities several times have been tried in ^{any} ~~the~~ but always have proved a complete failure, so that the government had to ^{introduce} ~~reorganize~~ their establishment in consequence of violent riots which originated (Papa Imbri)

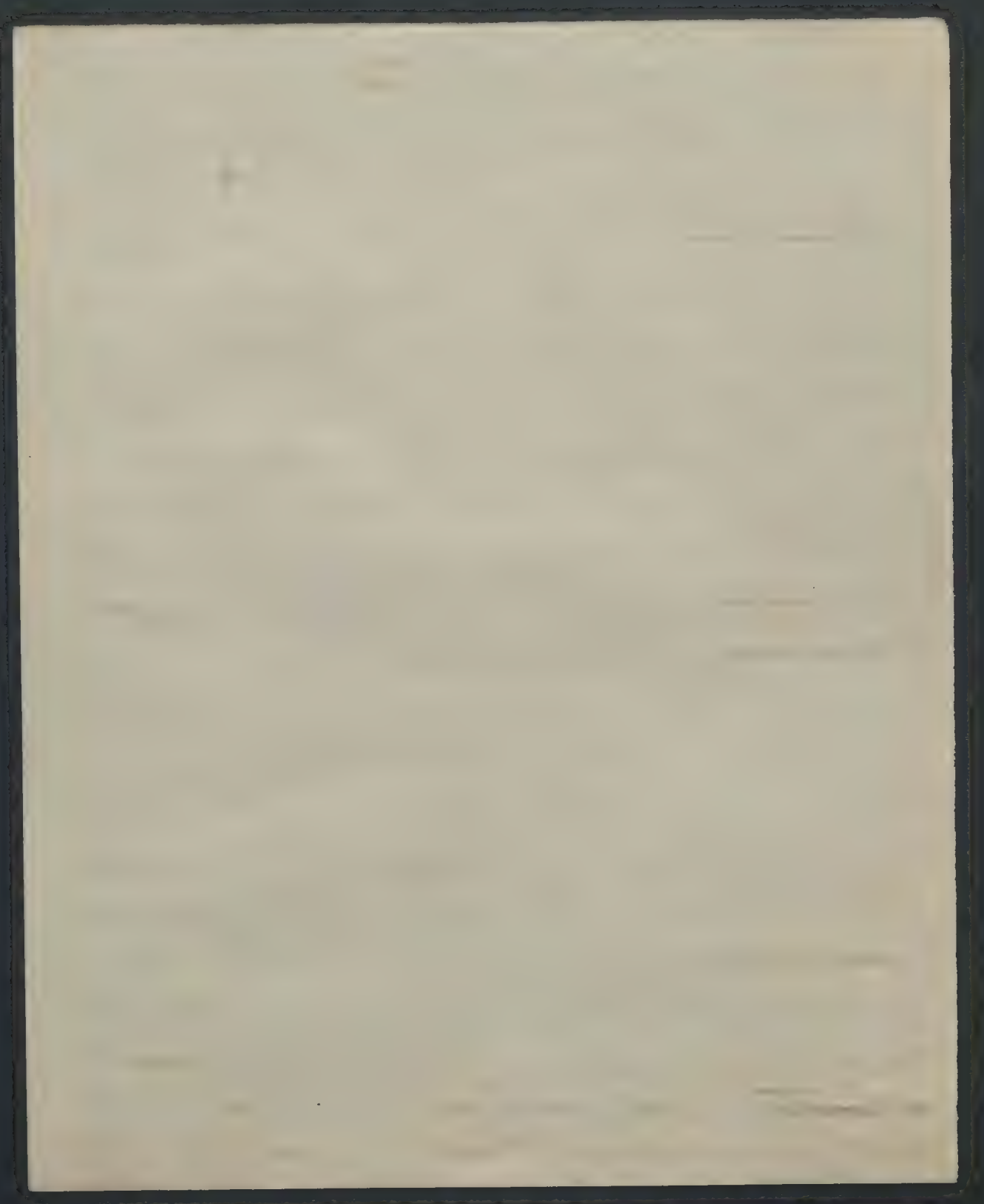
are little given to persuasion. They began ^{some} years ago by bombarding the Rector of the University, a professor of divinity with foul eggs and ^{they have come} this year to the above mentioned criminal acts of violence, ^{and vandalism} (by gradually crescendo) ^{very cunningly} were ~~planned~~ ^{premeditated} beforehand with all details and put into execution ~~with great solemnity~~ the day before the inauguration, when nobody suspected anything of that kind and ^{at a time} when there were scarcely any other students in the university.

This time, as the whole building was in imminent danger and even several persons were threatened their lives, a force of police had to be brought into action, which arrested the whole gang, (of those gentlemen, more than a hundred).

The whole ^{scandalous} affair put the Ruthenians in a rather awkward position, but with remarkable ^{artfulness} ~~astuteness~~ and cleverness ^{make the best out of it} of witsence they managed to ~~do just it~~ ^{to their advantage}.

certainly as it could not be considered as a demonstration of their cultural maturity, but if anything of the ~~kind~~ perversion brought about by education in Ruthenian schools, nearly all of them were first year students, and ^{by} ~~the~~ monopolous agitation.

The police committed the mistake of letting them at large at once, ~~though they~~ ^(and thus made them confident in their impunity) without ascertaining ^{in some instances} who were the chief leaders ~~and even~~ ^{not only} without ascertaining the ~~identity of the creators~~ ^{The Rector of the university, and}. The consequence was (that several university professors were threatened with ^{personal} assaults and with destruction of their ^{laboratories} ~~institutions~~), so that they had to organize a regular service of ^{armed} defence, but also that ~~a number~~ ^{the principal offenders} ~~of the students~~ managed to obliterate ^{most of} ~~as much as possible~~ the traces of their complot and a considerable number ~~managed~~ to disappear altogether from the stage.



so that ~~they have not been found up to now.~~
^{which took up their persecution}

the criminal court of justice had to issue a warrant of arrest for the whole gang, in order to make possible the preliminary examination of those at least ^(This measure, though perfectly legal and in accordance with the usual procedure in Austria proved a political mistake on the part of the legal authorities.) who were yet to be found out. The procedures of the preliminary trial were

hurried on as much as possible, but nevertheless it took ~~for~~ 3 weeks, until it

^{was completed} could be performed. Meanwhile the defendants led a jolly life, they were ^{they arranged social gatherings and meetings for the sake of agreement upon their conduct} used to visit them and to allow every possible ^{hence} ~~crowds of sympathisers were constantly visiting them~~

~~and~~ ^{foot} ^{in large quantities} provided them with ~~delicacies~~ and spirits while the Ruthenian press was ^{depicting} commiserating the poor martyrs. ^{at last when} the first batch of them

had to be ^{released} ~~put~~ ^{but they refused to leave custody unless all of them were left and under the name of Dr.} ~~when they~~ arranged a ~~the~~ ludicrous comedy. ~~these as~~

hunger strikes. ~~this~~ This word conveys us the idea of those ~~Russians~~ ^{heart-breaking scenes}

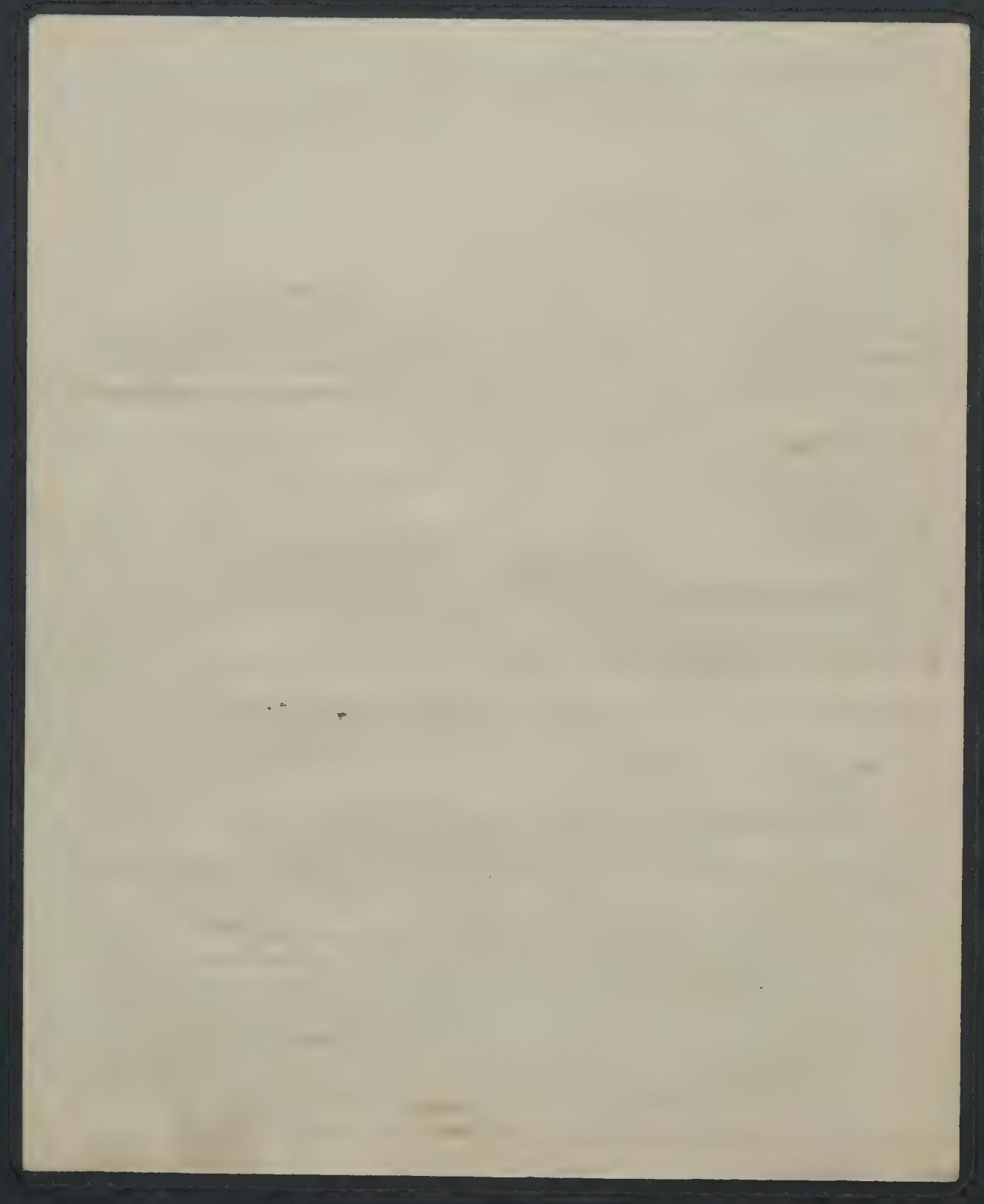
~~canalised~~ atrocities in Russia, where prisoners driven to despair by barbarous ^{sort of} ill-treatment resolve rather to die from hunger than to bear that life, and ~~to~~ refuse to eat anything (until they starve or until their burden is lightened).

In this case the thing was quite an obvious ^{insolent} ~~stupid~~ comedy. They were so well provided with food that they could dispense very well with ~~the meals of~~

^(kitchen) the prison, and they all knew that ~~the~~ the court had resolved to release ^{perhaps a few} ~~but they refused to leave custody unless all of them were left~~ them all except ~~several of~~ of the leaders of the gang. ^{however} ~~But~~ the comedy proved

effectful, the Ruthenian Jingo Press and the Vienna papers ^{heart-breaking} ~~reint~~ ^{serious report} ~~an~~ ^{they} published fantastic ~~stories~~ fables which found their way abroad, even to the English

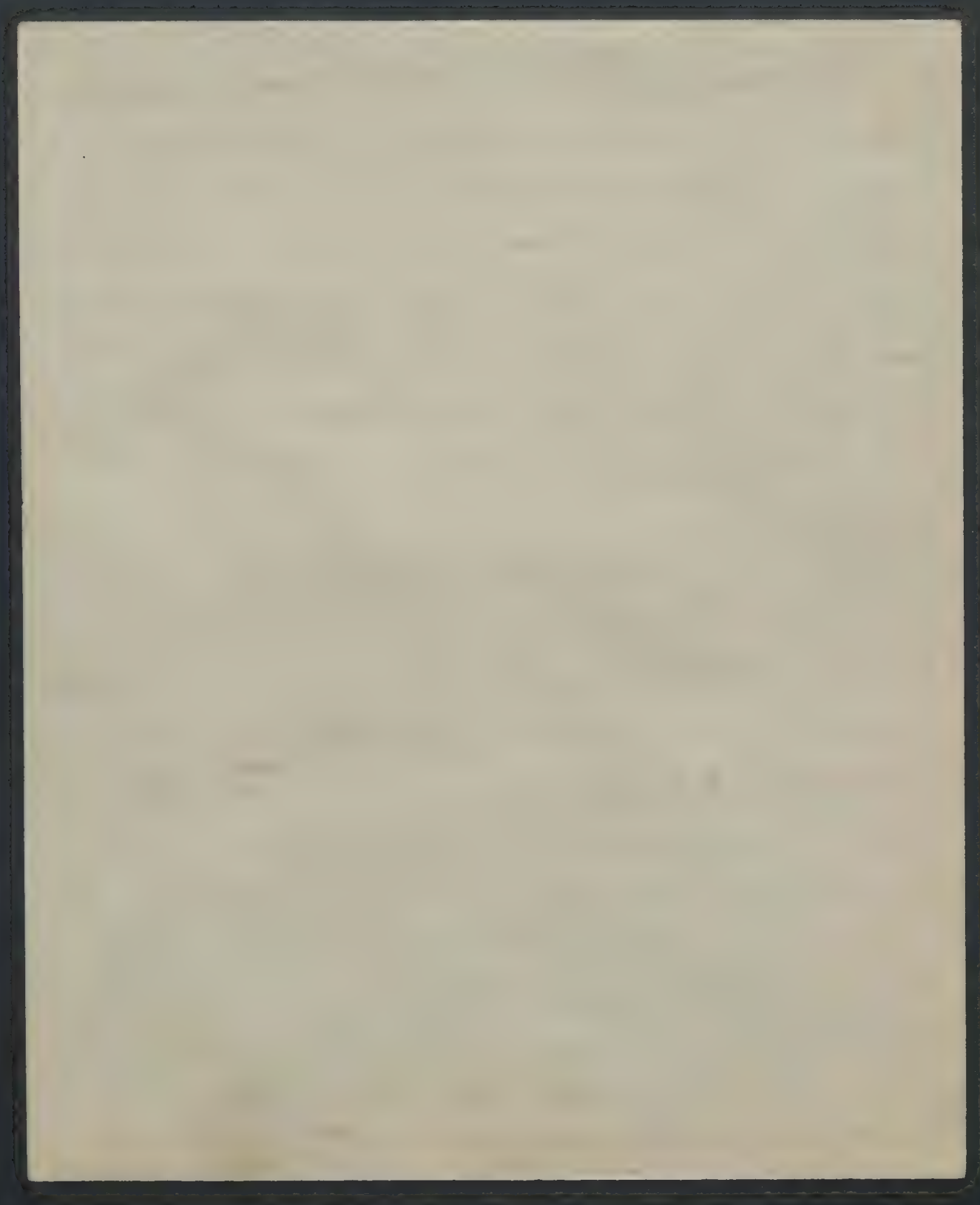
press, the minister of justice in Vienna ~~found~~ ^{in London} the court of justice ~~for~~ ^{means} ~~which~~ ^(of persuasion)



^{been in accordance with the constitutional independence of judges}
 hardly have ~~been legal~~, and the result was that ~~the Court~~ ^{the Court} ~~agreed to~~
^{conceded to}
 letting free (on bail) also the readers of the paper, among them the famous ^{law} that
 a student of ~~university~~, who had been observed by several professors as he was
~~smashing~~ ^{was} smashing with an axe tables ~~the~~ and other furniture in the assembly room,
 who had threatened them ~~and~~ ^{was} and an University official, ~~who had been~~
~~recognized~~ ~~as the man~~ who had been sitting on a barricade
 donned with the red Rector's gown, torn to pieces, ~~and~~ ^{in his hand} a big knife (and who
 had attacked two Polish students with this knife, ~~who~~ ^{so that they} were nearly succeeded
 to escape.

^{Victory was proclaimed}
 The poor martyrs, more dead than alive, ^{lustily} marched to the Ruthenian hotel,
 where they ^{took part} ~~partook~~ ^{effected} at a big banquet ^{arranged by their wives to their women} and delivered a number of
 toasts and speeches to the crowd assembled before the hotel, in which they ^{exalted} ~~praised~~
 the "method of the cudgel" as the only policy which ^{had proved} ~~is~~ effective in Austria and
 invited the people ~~to~~ ^{to} imitate them. which the Ruthenians would ^{apply} ~~follow~~ ^{too} in future,
 in order to conquer the Lemberg university and to exterminate the Polish
 dominion in East Galicia.

That was too much even for the Poles, who had behaved with patient
 indifference, trusting to the impartiality of Austrian justice in such an obvious
 affair and who began to realize now that their indifference ^{in respect} ~~to~~ to the
 extravagance of a handful of unscrupulous ^{agitators} ~~journalists~~ and agitators
 had been mistaken for weakness by the government ~~which~~ ^{which} always prefers
~~the~~ ^{the} is evident

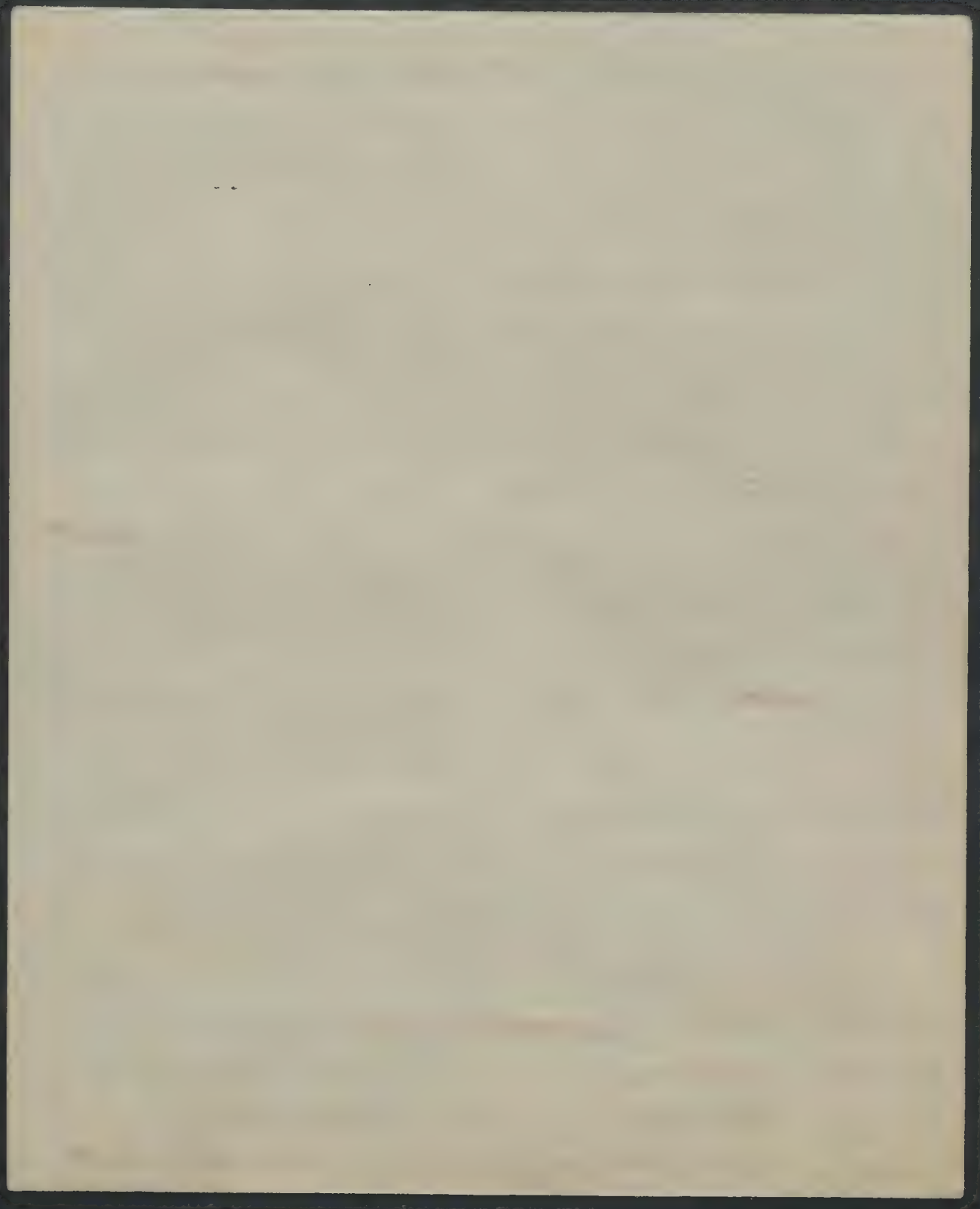


to yield to the Ruthenians who ~~that means~~ ^{it means} ~~democracy~~ ^{democracy} doing harm to Polish interests. The whole community rose in indignation.

The professors of the University held a meeting ^{and published} ~~the result of which is a~~ manifesto which no doubt is a historical fact of decisive importance. They declare that by historical development, by force of present laws and by the necessity of existing circumstances the Lemberg university is and must remain in future an intangible Polish national property, ^{and} that the official language must ^{remain} ~~be~~ Polish. ^(Without prejudicing about the establishment of a separate Ruthenian university) They emphatically denounce any attempt of making ^{the present university} it bilingual as unjust and impracticable and declare that they ~~would~~ will resist any step being further made in this direction. ~~that the~~

The manifesto is signed unanimously by all Polish professors and lecturers in the number of 103.

Then ~~a~~ ^a citizens meeting was held such as so crowded that the largest hall could contain only a small part and the rest had to debate ^{at the same time} outside the building. Resolutions of similar character were then passed, and an equal action was taken by in the following time declarations of sympathy were ^{received} ~~coming~~ from all parts of the country. Also the Polish students ^{took active steps} resolved to ^{when the Ruthenians, who had taken part in that criminal affair, began to appear in the University again.} ~~asked~~ those Ruthenians who ~~had taken part in the~~ approved this act, to leave the building. Some ~~were~~ obeyed, but most were pushed out or carried out by manual force. They assembled before the building, ~~and~~ ^{they} fetched a crowd of ^{camp followers} followers from the town and beleaguered the entrance of the University, ^{while} ~~that~~ the



Students had to leave
 Polish ~~left~~ the building as the Senate resolved to stop the lectures and to close
 the door, ~~pushed them~~ ^{menagerie} ~~pushed them~~ ^{to} ~~pushed them~~

Polish students wanted to leave it, as the Senate had resolved in the meanwhile to
 stop the lectures and to close the building, for fear of any ^{trouble} ~~trouble~~ more serious.

For several hours the two parties stood ^{still and dumb} ~~against~~ one another, in spite of a force of
 police trying to ^{disperse} ~~disperse~~ them, at last the Poles ^{set} ~~came~~ into motion, pushed their
 Ruthenians down the gateway and scattered them in all directions, while
 the ~~an~~ immense crowd of spectators was applauding and hurraing.

Certainly the action of the Polish students was ~~perfectly~~ ^{prosecuted} contrary to the University
 discipline, ~~but~~ and no doubt it will be ~~permitted~~ ^{permitted} by the University authorities, but ~~it~~
~~cannot be excused by the~~ on the other hand, ^(we must admit) ~~their~~ ^{we must admit} indignation about being
 forced to sit in the lectures side by side with criminals and with men who approve
 a crime is ^{to be certainly justifiable} ~~quite~~ explicable enough. As a remarkable contrast to Ruthenian
 behaviour we must emphasise the fact that ^{last} ~~no~~ ^{last} ~~body~~ ^{body} was beaten ~~not injured~~
 (the Poles behaved perfectly gentlemanlike, they did not

The Ruthenian press, of course, was ^{space} ~~swamped~~ ^{full of} with lies, ^{beat nor} ~~beat nor~~ ^{but} ~~anybody~~ ^{under this report} ~~and they were spread abroad~~
~~an~~ ^{of similar kind} ~~interpellation~~ ^{was} brought in at the Galician diet ~~which was just sitting~~, in
 in which the Ruthenians stated that eight of their students were severely wounded.

The governor of Galicia at once sent the chief physician to ^{these men} ~~them~~, who found them
~~perfectly~~ in a perfect state of health and all what could be noticed were some
 scratches with two of them, which were scarcely ^{required} ~~noticed~~ ^{noticed} ~~noticed~~ ^{noticed}

But unfortunately brutal violence and calumnies are the weapons which are

Whoever considers the whole affair from an impartial standpoint, cannot fail to ~~feel~~ ^{feel} ~~depression and~~ ^{depression and} a feeling of profound (dis)gust. The behaviour of the Ruthenian university, ~~their hostility and insupportable~~ ^{their hostility and insupportable} students, their press and their political leaders testifies ~~and~~ ^{of a} ~~shockingly~~ ^{shockingly} low cultural and ethical standard, ~~with which it is shocking for anybody who believes in the rapid progress of modern civilisation.~~ But on the other side, ~~we shall not judge them so severely, when we consider that also a large party of a people who~~ ^{believes} ~~considers itself to be~~ ^{is} the flower of modern civilisation, is ~~exactly~~ ⁱⁿ about the same moral condition.

The other day ^{it was shown} ~~when~~ ^{that} "Antonin" ~~was~~ ^{was} in the Prussian Landtag, ~~which~~ ^{not only} had ~~offended~~ ^{offended} the most elementary feeling of humanity, ~~but did~~ ^{but did} not refrain from violating the constitution and from ~~soiling~~ ^{soiling} the ^{cost} ~~cost~~ of justice, the Prussian minister, Stahl replied: "We have the force, therefore we have the right!" He proposed the Ruthenian creed of the end of the world. ^{one} ~~The difference is only~~ ^{is} the force of the Ruthenians ~~with~~ ^{is} not so powerful as to ^{terrorise their opponents} ~~inspire any feeling of~~ ^{inspire any feeling of} terror.

But let us return to our problem. What ^{may} ~~will~~ be its solution? There is a moment of expectation now, the lectures ^(of the winter term have not been resumed any more) ~~have been stopped~~ ^{and the new term will} not begin until May. Some people think the Ruthenians ^{students} ~~will~~ ^{will} recommence their usual method of violent ~~roads~~ ^{roads} immediately, ~~as they are not fit to do anything else~~ ^{as they are not fit to do anything else} others think the expulsion of 16 of them ~~which~~ ^{which} has now been ordered by the University ~~which~~ ^{which} will have its effect and they will be quiet at least until the general trial at the court of justice is over. ^{that} ~~But~~ ^{that} has little to do with the ultimate solution of these difficulties ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~is to be aimed at.~~ ^{is to be aimed at.} This will still take some time: but in order to avoid any possible occurrence of partiality ~~have asked the whole case to be given over to the court of justice in Vienna~~ ^{have asked the whole case to be given over to the court of justice in Vienna}

~~not those~~ ~~Polish~~ ^{leaders} ^{at the top of} ^{notion} favoured by the radicals ~~who are leading the Ruthenians~~ (now) ~~to do~~ ~~the~~ ~~abolish~~ ~~the~~ ~~privileges~~ ~~of the Polish language at the~~ ~~Ruthenian~~ ^{any attempt} ^{appears} ^{definitely excluded by} ^{of such a policy being} ^{in a conference with a delegation} ^{of leading persons.} ^{of the} ^{government} ^{attitude} ^{and also the minister of education admitted this implicitly} ^{of such a policy being} ^{in a conference with a delegation} ^{of leading persons.} ^{of the} ^{government} ^{of the professors and of the whole Polish} ^{society} ^{Desires,} ^{will} ^{scarcely} ^{wish to repeat the experiment which had} ^{turned out to be} ^{humiliating} ^{as a} ^{failure} ⁱⁿ ^{Prague and in} ^{Jennabach} ^{of creating bilingual} ^{university.} ^{The only just and practicable way is to found} ^{(a separate Ruthenian} ^{university.} ^{With exception of a small conservative faction are distinctly in favour} ^{always} ^{of it.} ^{They have met the demands of the Ruthenians with the greatest} ^{tolerance and impartiality.} ^{The Galician diet, ~~which is~~ ^{where the Poles are} ^{in consequence of their moral superiority} ^{the overwhelming majority,} ^{have} ^{founded} ^{a vast} ^{number of primary and secondary Ruthenian schools} ^{in proportion to the demand} ^{(more even than Polish schools,} ^{they} ^{Ruthenian language} ^{is} ^{the} ^{law courts and in all} ^{sorts of official transactions,} ^{and they will not oppose} ^{to the foundation of} ^a ^{university.} ^{But there are yet} ^{difficulties to} ^{overcome.} ^{The chief one} ^{has been pointed out} ^{before,} ^{it is the want of} ^{persons} ^{fit for professorships.} ^{Then there is the} ^{inertia} ^{of the government,} ^{which} ^{is} ^{far from} ^{being} ^{willing to let the Poles pay the bill,} ^{but} ^{it} ^{does not care for doing it itself.} ^{And then there is the question of the place where} ^{the University is to be} ^{established.} ^{Poles} ^{would} ^{not} ^{oppose to} ^{its being established in} ^{Lemberg,} ^{but} ^{is a nearly pure Polish town and Ruthenians won't have it in} ^{(the} ^{any of)}}

Moreover ^{even the government} ~~it~~ begins to feel somewhat uneasy about the recent outbursts of Ruthenian radicalism, ^{phase} ~~it can be traced~~ as undoubtedly the spirit of Russian ~~and~~ revolutionism and agrarian movements makes itself felt in it.

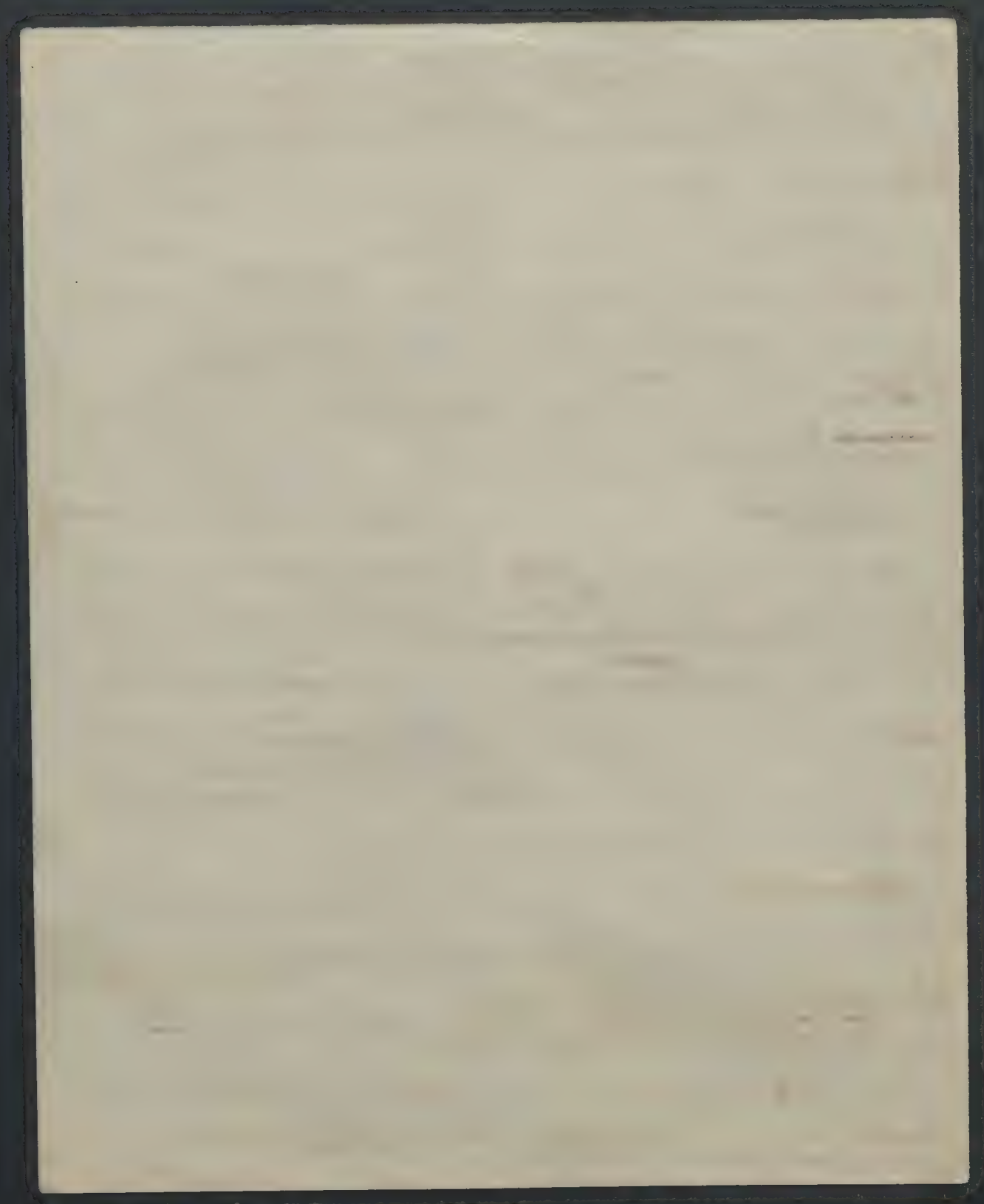
towns where they are in the majority, as such are ^{only} places of comparatively little importance. But it ~~is scarcely~~ ^(even or later) ~~no doubt~~ these difficulties ^{can} ~~will~~ be overcome.

No doubt they would be overcome much easier, if the Ruthenians would change their policy and come to an understanding with the Poles, instead of ~~losing the~~ ^{not} spending their whole energy on fruitless struggles ^(like the Poles) which are ~~not~~ likely to bring them ~~nothing~~ ^{not} much profit ~~and~~ and still less honour. ~~If they were shrewd politicians they~~

~~The~~ ought to realise that times have changed in Austria. Their ^{old} policy of ~~aiming at~~ ^{not} ~~favoring upon~~ (the central government, of supporting its absolutistic tendencies of ^{assisting} ~~supporting~~ German hegemony and even of ^{flirting} ~~being~~ with the Prussians, ~~which~~ it ~~may~~ have been useful in ~~the~~ old Austria, but these times are gone for ever. ^(The growing importance of non-German population, especially) ~~The separation of the Hungarians~~ the autonomistic tendencies of the Poles and Czechs, ^{that} ~~and~~ ^{gradually} ~~drive Austria slowly but surely~~ towards ~~decentralisation~~ ^{progressive decentralisation}. And the same ^{factors} ~~influences~~, especially the Poles, who will try to repay ^(for) Prussian brutality the best they can, ^(work towards her emancipation) ~~will emancipate her~~ from the influence of her haughty northern neighbour.

~~Still more than in~~ In Russia Ruthenian national interests are mostly identical with Polish ones, ~~The Union of these peoples is an obsolete ideal of the past~~ ^(the only help for) ~~but an alliance~~ and there ^{nationality} ~~Ruthenians~~ ^{which will, at it for entire strength by Russia} ~~the~~ ^{would} ~~be~~ ^{be} Polish support. ^(not one R. it is a struggle) ~~There they have not one client or secondary school~~ ^{The Poles} ~~there too are in a position incomparably more far~~

Thanks to these constitutional changes the evolution of nationalities must therefore proceed on lines somewhat similar like in Austria, by loosening the artificial



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